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United States General Accounting Office

GAO

Report to the Honorable Arlen Specter
United States Senate

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April 1986

UNITED NATIONS

Analysis of Selected Media Products Shows Half Oppose Key U.S. Interests

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GAO

United States
General Accounting Office
Washington, D.C. 20548

National Security and
International Affairs Division

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April 18, 1986

The Honorable Arlen Specter
United States Senate

Dear Senator Specter:

As you requested, we have reviewed a cross-section of U.N. materials produced or published by the U.N. Department of Public Information to determine whether they supported or opposed U.S. policies and/or interests. This report summarizes the results of our systematic content analysis of 90 media pieces produced during 1983-85 for selected topics and media types. Based on the results of our analysis, we are recommending to the Secretary of State that he develop a system to better monitor the contents of selected U.N. public information materials.

We are sending copies of this report to the Department of State, U.S. Mission to the United Nations, Office of Management and Budget, and cognizant congressional committees. Copies will be made available to other interested parties upon request.

Sincerely yours,

Frank C Conahan

Frank C. Conahan
Director

Executive Summary

At the request of Senator Arlen Specter, GAO conducted a content analysis of materials produced or published by the U.N. Department of Public Information (DPI). GAO objectives were to determine whether the materials (1) supported or opposed political positions taken by the United States and (2) fairly and objectively discussed the United States and its policies.

Background

Each year the U.N. Committee on Information develops recommendations which, once adopted by the General Assembly, guide U.N. public information activities. As the principal U.N. body engaged in public information activities, DPI produces and distributes publications, pamphlets, books and journals; broadcasts and distributes taped radio programs around the world; provides television news coverage of U.N. events; sponsors or produces films about the United Nations; and provides a variety of services to the press and representatives of nongovernmental organizations. The United States contributed about $8 million to support DPI activities for 1984. (See pp. 8-11.)

Other U.N. bodies, committees, and specialized agencies produce and disseminate their materials through U.N. information centers located worldwide. DPI oversees the operations of these centers but exercises no control over the content of other bodies' materials. (See p. 9.)

Methodology for Content Analysis

GAO conducted a systematic content analysis of 90 DPI media pieces related to four topic areas identified by the Department of State as being important to U.S. interests—apartheid, disarmament, new world orders, and the question of Palestine. State also provided criteria on these topics to define what political positions would be considered contrary to U.S. policies and/or interests. (See pp. 14-16.)

GAO analyzed (1) all 72 items in five media categories, dated January 1984 through August 1985, dealing with the four topics and (2) the most recent 18 items produced in 1983 for these same topics and media types. These items included publications, transcripts of radio and television programs, journal articles, and summaries of weekly briefings to nongovernmental organizations.

Three GAO evaluators independently analyzed all 90 media items using detailed guidelines which GAO developed to define the elements to be

analyzed and the scoring procedures to be applied. Two separate analyses were conducted. First, each paragraph was scored as either supporting, opposing, neutral, or unrelated to U.S. interests by (1) comparing the political position taken in the text to State's criteria and (2) identifying language biasing the discussion for or against U.S. interests.

Second, each media piece was given an overall rating representing the combined effect of the following factors toward U.S. interests.

- Portion of text favorable and unfavorable to the United States.
- Relative prominence of favorable and unfavorable text.
- Balance of coverage of arguments supporting and opposing the political issues discussed.
- Incidence and pattern of language biased for and against the United States.

The results of GAO's analysis are applicable only to the materials it analyzed. Based on standard statistical procedures, GAO is confident that the results of its analysis are reproducible for these materials. (See pp. 16-17.)

Results in Brief

About half of the DPI materials analyzed on apartheid, disarmament, new world orders, and the question of Palestine opposed U.S. interests because they took political positions contrary to U.S. policies and/or contained elements of bias against the United States. Only one of the 90 items produced during 1983-85 which GAO analyzed supported U.S. interests. (See pp. 18-19.)

These results reflect, in part, the minority position the United States has taken on some of the political issues related to these topics. Also, the United States has opposed many of the mandates which guide public information activities because it believes these mandates have become politicized. (See pp. 27-28.)

Principal Findings

The three evaluators gave identical overall ratings to 79 of the 90 items analyzed. For these items, GAO found 38 to be neutral, 40 to be opposed, and 1 to be supportive of U.S. interests.

GAO also found that

- greater proportions of items on apartheid and Palestine were opposed to U.S. policies and/or interests than were the other topics;
- a greater proportion of radio broadcasts opposed U.S. interests than did the other media types; and
- Soviet bloc and non-aligned country spokesmen, U.N. General Assembly resolutions and conferences, and DPI were the sources of material which frequently opposed U.S. interests. (See pp. 18-23.)

DPI's policy is to promote balance and neutrality in its materials. However, GAO identified indications of bias in some materials.

- About 16 percent of the items analyzed presented only one side of political issues and presented no arguments supporting the U.S. position.
- In material related to U.S. interests, 44 percent of the paragraphs attributed to DPI spokesmen opposed, while only 3 percent supported, U.S. interests.
- At least 2.5 percent of all paragraphs contained biased language; about 94 percent of the biased language was biased against U.S. interests.
- Although DPI can better control the content of its Radio Perspective program than other media types analyzed, these programs were the most unfavorable toward U.S. interests by almost every index used. (See pp. 24-27.)

Both the U.N. Under Secretary General for Public Information and U.S. officials have shown concern for impartial presentation of public information. The Under Secretary General has provided guidance to his staff which emphasizes the need for balance and neutrality in reporting on political issues before the United Nations. U.S. officials continue to work within the Committee on Information in opposing the politicization of U.N. public information mandates. (See p. 30.)

Although U.S. officials have identified inaccuracies in DPI media in an ad hoc manner, no U.S. agency systematically reviews DPI media. As a result, U.S. officials cannot promptly bring inaccuracies, if they occur, to the attention of appropriate U.N. officials or assess what actions might be needed to encourage fair and balanced public information. (See p. 32.)

The worldwide dissemination of DPI materials amplifies the effect these materials may have on world understanding of events and issues before the United Nations. Accordingly, GAO believes a review process may be

needed, at least for high volume, high visibility materials on topics of vital U.S. policy interests. (See p. 35.)

Recommendation

GAO recommends that the Secretary of State develop a review process to better monitor selected U.N. public information materials. (See p. 35.)

Agency Comments

The Department of State commented that GAO's findings substantiated concerns the Department has expressed over DPI materials. State said it has taken steps to strengthen its review of DPI materials. (See pp. 28 and 36-38.)

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Abbreviations

DPI United Nations Department of Public Information
GAO General Accounting Office

Chapter 1

Introduction

When the United Nations was created, the General Assembly recognized the need for objective and accurate public information on the workings of that world organization. In adopting its first public information resolution in 1946, the General Assembly noted that the role of the U.N. Department of Public Information (DPI) should be to "promote to the greatest possible extent an informed understanding of the work and purposes of the United Nations among the peoples of the world." The General Assembly emphasized that DPI should discharge this responsibility in an objective manner and without engaging in propaganda.

At the request of Senator Arlen Specter, we conducted a systematic content analysis of DPI materials in order to determine whether the materials (1) supported or opposed political positions taken by the United States and (2) fairly and objectively discussed the United States and its policies.

U.N. Public Information and the Role of DPI

DPI is the principal U.N. body engaged in public information activities. The worldwide dissemination of DPI materials through the high-impact media of radio, television, and the press amplifies the effect these materials may have on world understanding of events and issues before the United Nations. DPI discharges its responsibilities as mandated by the General Assembly in the following ways.

- Publishes and distributes over 2 million documents annually, including summaries of U.N. committee meetings, reference works, books, pamphlets, reports and studies of U.N. seminars and conferences, and reprints of materials prepared by other U.N. bodies.
- Issues two periodicals: U.N. Chronicle, a multi-subject journal released in 11 editions each year in 5 languages, and Objective: Justice, a semiannual publication which focuses on decolonization, elimination of racial discrimination, and advancement of human rights.
- Coordinates the activities of 66 U.N. information centers located worldwide, including the U.S. center in Washington, D.C.
- Broadcasts over 3,000 hours of radio programs annually in 25 languages to 167 countries via shortwave facilities of the Voice of America and distributes 110,000 taped programs to radio stations around the world.[1]
- Provides a variety of press services to almost 300 print and electronic media correspondents from 45 countries. These include press releases,

[1]U.N. shortwave broadcasts were suspended in January 1986 pending negotiation of a new leasing arrangement.

daily press briefings, special assistance to non-aligned press agencies, and periodic editors' roundtable discussions.

- Produces 1,000 television news packages annually, including several weekly news magazines, a weekly interview program, and all video footage covering U.N. Headquarters activities used by the world's television medium.
- Sponsors or participates in the production of as many as 10 original films every year and regularly disseminates more than 150 U.N. films annually through the information centers.
- Provides weekly informational briefings and organizes annual conferences for approximately 2,400 associated nongovernmental organizations to enable re-dissemination of information about the United Nations through their constituencies.

DPI also provides visitor tours of U.N. Headquarters, trains journalists from developing countries, coordinates exhibits, and provides photographic materials.

Role of Other U.N. Bodies

Although DPI is the focal point for U.N. information activities, other U.N. bodies, committees, and specialized agencies also produce public information materials. By 1974, because of the growing number of organizations within the U.N. system with their own information services and activities, a Joint United Nations Information Committee was created to develop a common public information approach; however, the various organizations retained their separate information activities.

We were unable to establish precisely what proportion of all materials produced by the U.N. system were produced by DPI. However, during our visits to the U.N. information center in Washington, D.C., between July and September 1985, we found that the bulk of the publications available to the public were not DPI materials. An official at the center said that although the information centers disseminate these materials for other U.N. organizations, DPI does not assume responsibility for their contents.

General Assembly Mandates Guide Content of Public Information

Each year the U.N. Committee on Information reports to the General Assembly its recommendations for the conduct of public information activities. These recommendations are contained in a resolution proposed to the General Assembly by the U.N. Special Political Committee. The resolution passed in 1985 contained 70 specific recommendations which request DPI, the Secretary General, and other U.N. bodies to publicize certain topics and events and to engage in specific public information activities. Once adopted by the General Assembly, these recommendations guide U.N. public information activities.

In addition, each year the General Assembly passes other resolutions which supplement this primary public information mandate. A U.N. compilation of public information mandates passed by the General Assembly in 1984 listed 33 resolutions calling on DPI and other U.N. bodies to carry out one or more public information tasks. For example, DPI was called upon to

- strengthen its cooperation with the pool of non-aligned news agencies;
- promote the establishment of a new world information and communication order;
- ensure the widest dissemination of information on apartheid;
- prepare publications devoted to the 25th anniversary of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples;
- ensure wide circulation of reports of the Special Committee to Investigate Israeli Practices Affecting the Human Rights of the Population of the Occupied Territories; and
- ensure the maximum effectiveness of the World Disarmament Campaign by using its expertise and resources in public information.

U.S. Financial Contributions to DPI

DPI's portion of the U.N. biennial budget for 1984-1985 was about $69.1 million. The corresponding amount adopted for the 1986-1987 biennium is about $75.7 million. The U.S. share is 25 percent, the percentage of the U.N. budget as a whole which the General Assembly assesses the United States.

During 1984, the latest year for which actual figures are available, DPI expenditures were $33 million. To comply with statutory requirements, the United States withholds from its U.N. contribution the U.S. proportionate share of costs for projects whose primary purpose is to provide political benefits to the Palestine Liberation Organization. Accordingly, in finalizing the U.S. contribution for 1984, the State Department plans

to withhold $64,238 from its contribution for public information activities related to the question of Palestine. The resulting net U.S. contribution related to DPI activities for 1984 will be $8,183,509.

Objectives, Scope, and Methodology

The objectives of our review were to evaluate a cross-section of public information materials produced or published by the U.N. Department of Public Information and to determine whether these materials (1) supported or opposed political positions taken by the United States and (2) fairly discussed the United States and issues important to U.S. interests. The primary focus of the review was a systematic content analysis of 90 DPI media pieces representing (1) all 72 media items related to four topics in five media categories produced from January 1984 through August 1985 and (2) the most recent 18 items produced in 1983 for these same topics and media types. The four topic areas—apartheid, disarmament, new world orders, and the question of Palestine were selected by the Department of State based on their importance to U.S. interests and the need to have related U.S. policies fairly presented. The materials, which included publications, transcripts of radio and television programs, journal articles, and summaries of briefings given to nongovernmental organizations, were analyzed according to a methodology explained in detail in chapter 2.

We discussed U.S. efforts to encourage fairness in public information with U.S. officials at the U.S. mission to the United Nations in New York and the Bureau for International Organization Affairs at the Department of State in Washington, D.C. We also reviewed files related to public information matters at both State and the U.S. mission and traced the development of public information mandates from the U.N. Committee on Information and Special Political Committee to adoption by the General Assembly. Finally, we discussed with U.S. officials the leasing arrangement between DPI and the Voice of America which has enabled the United Nations to broadcast radio programs over U.S. transmitters since its inception. As agreed with Senator Specter, we will report separately on this leasing arrangement at a later date.

Three limitations should be kept in mind with respect to the findings of this study. First, due to our lack of audit authority over international organizations, we did not review DPI operations related to the production of materials. We did, however, discuss our review with DPI officials, including the Under Secretary General for Public Information, to gain their views on the need for fair and objective U.N. public information.

Second, we based our determinations of whether material supported or opposed U.S. policies and/or interests on criteria provided by the Department of State. We refined the criteria with State officials to ensure that the criteria clearly stated official U.S. positions on these topics. We used these criteria to provide a uniform basis for analyzing political position, although we acknowledge that individuals may differ in their views as to what might be considered contrary to U.S. interests.

Third, the results of our review are applicable only to the materials we analyzed. If different topic areas or media types had been selected, results might have differed.

We conducted our review in conformance with generally accepted government auditing standards.

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Chapter 2

Methodology for Content Analysis of DPI Materials

To systematically analyze the content of DPI media, we

- selected five types of media representing a variety of DPI materials;
- focused on four topic areas identified by the Department of State as important to U.S. interests;
- used criteria provided by the Department of State to define what political positions would be considered contrary to U.S. policies and/or interests; and
- employed analyses of bias and political position at both the media piece level and paragraph level to identify material favorable, unfavorable, and neutral toward U.S. policies and/or interests.

Materials Included in Analysis

To obtain a variety of materials produced or distributed by DPI, we selected five media types which have wide dissemination or impact and which were most likely to contain interpretative data.

1. DPI publications available free of charge to the public and identifiable by assigned DPI numbers.

2. Transcripts of Radio Perspective, the taped U.N. radio program most frequently adapted for use around the world.

3. Transcripts of the principal DPI television production, World Chronicle, an unedited, weekly half-hour taped interview program featuring key U.N. personalities.

4. Feature articles entitled "Perspective" from U.N. Chronicle, DPI's principal periodical which is produced in five of the six U.N. official languages.

5. Summaries of weekly briefings given at U.N. Headquarters to representatives of nongovernmental organizations by U.N. officials and guests invited by DPI.

DPI publications are largely reprints or summaries of other U.N. bodies' work, with very little original writing by DPI. For example, 11 of the 30 DPI publications in our analysis were produced by the U.N. Department for Disarmament Affairs, and 14 were reprints of statements, studies, declarations or programs of action prepared by or for other U.N. bodies. Five publications were not specifically attributed to other agencies but may also have been prepared by others. Two of these were accounts of the work and activities of the Special Committee to Investigate Israeli

Practices Affecting the Human Rights of the Population of the Occupied Territories and the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People. Two others were prepared as background papers for the Second World Conference to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination. The last was a treatise on the Law of the Sea Convention.

DPI produces many other media pieces, such as press releases, films, and summaries of U.N. meetings and other events. We did not include these media types in our analysis because of time and resource limitations.

We also excluded U.N. radio programs broadcast by shortwave over the Voice of America because (1) written transcripts were unavailable and (2) a representative sample could not be drawn because few tapes are retained once the programs are broadcast. In contrast, the Radio Perspective program included in our analysis is taped and sent by mail along with written transcripts to users around the world rather than broadcast by shortwave.

Topics Selected for Analysis

To further refine our universe of materials, we asked the Department of State to identify four topic areas from the following list of priority areas which the General Assembly identified for the focus of public information activities.

1. International peace and security 2. Disarmament 3. Peacekeeping and peacemaking operations 4. Decolonization 5. Human rights (includes the question of Palestine) 6. Struggle against apartheid and racial discrimination 7. Economic, social, and development issues 8. Integration of women in the struggle for peace and development 9. Establishment of a new international economic order and a new world information and communication order 10. The work of the U.N. Council for Namibia 11. Programs for women and youth

From this list, the State Department selected apartheid, disarmament, and new world orders based on their importance to U.S. interests and the need to have related U.S. policies fairly presented. Because of Senator Specter's specific interest in how Israel is treated in DPI media, the Department selected the question of Palestine as a fourth topic. Although Palestine falls under the general category of human rights, we did not examine materials related to any other human rights issues.

Number of Items Analyzed

We analyzed 90 media pieces including (1) all 72 items in the selected media categories, dated January 1984 through August 1985 which dealt with the selected topics and (2) the most recent 18 items produced in 1983, to obtain a reasonable number of items for each topic area. We identified these items by reviewing DPI indexes, collecting the media items which appeared to be related to the topics, and eliminating those only slightly related to the topics. During the periods covered, DPI produced 317 other items dealing with other subjects for the selected media categories. Appendix II lists the 90 media pieces we analyzed.

State Department Criteria

The State Department provided criteria defining what political positions would be considered contrary to current U.S. policies and/or interests for the four topic areas. A panel of our staff reviewed these criteria to ensure that they were clearly stated. We then obtained refinements as necessary from the Department. As previously mentioned, we accepted these criteria to obtain the official U.S. positions on the four topic areas and to provide a uniform basis for analyzing political position. We also used these criteria to assist us in identifying media pieces dealing with the new world orders, since these items were not always clearly labeled as such. Appendix III lists these criteria.

Type of Analysis Employed

Three GAO evaluators independently conducted a textual analysis of all 90 DPI media pieces. Each evaluator followed a detailed set of guidelines which we developed to define the elements to be analyzed and the scoring procedures to be applied. The guidelines were pretested on materials outside the group of items selected for analysis and were refined to enhance uniformity in scoring practices.

Two separate but related analyses were conducted: (1) a detailed analysis of each paragraph and (2) a broader analysis of the media piece as a whole.

Paragraph Analysis

The three evaluators scored each paragraph according to the political position taken and indications of bias. To rate political position, they compared the position taken in the text with the criteria provided by the State Department and rated the position as either supportive, opposed, neutral, or unrelated to U.S. policies and/or interests. To identify bias for or against the United States, they evaluated each paragraph for the existence of emotional language, language emphasis, and imbalanced

comparisons of the United States and other nations. Based on the combined effect of these determinations of political position and bias, the evaluators rated each paragraph as supporting, opposing, neutral, or unrelated to U.S. policies and/or interests.

Overall Ratings for Media Pieces

After the paragraph analyses were completed, each evaluator assigned an overall rating to each media piece based on a seven-point scale ranging from very opposed to very supportive of U.S. policies and/or interests. For these ratings, the evaluators considered the (1) proportion of paragraph text determined to be favorable or unfavorable, (2) incidence of statements containing bias for or against the United States, (3) relative prominence of favorable and unfavorable text within the media piece, and (4) balance of coverage for major arguments on both sides of the political issues discussed.

Confidence in the Results

An important aspect of any content analysis is the degree to which independent raters agree in their determinations. After the scoring was completed, we calculated the degree of agreement for various determinations using a standard formula, called Krippendorff's alpha coefficient.

The resulting coefficient of .87 for determinations of whether a paragraph was favorable, unfavorable, or neutral toward the United States indicates that the raters agreed in their scoring at a rate 87 percent greater than if they randomly assigned ratings to the text. Because this and other calculated coefficients are fairly high, we are confident that the results of our analysis are reproducible for the materials included in our study. (See app. IV for these coefficients.)

Results of the Analysis and Indications of Bias

Our content analysis enabled us to identify (1) specific media pieces, topics, and categories favorable and unfavorable toward the United States, (2) amount of text in the materials supporting and opposing U.S. policies and/or interests, (3) specific themes frequently presented in ways favorable and unfavorable to U.S. interests, and (4) sources of discussions supporting and opposing U.S. interests. We also analyzed our data to identify whether there were any indications of bias in the materials.

We found that a substantial number of the media items opposed U.S. interests because they took political positions unfavorable to U.S. interests and/or contained indications of bias against the United States. Indications of bias included language which biased discussions against the United States, coverage of arguments for only one side of important political issues for some media items, and imbalanced presentation of material in DPI's Radio Perspective program.

Results of the Analysis

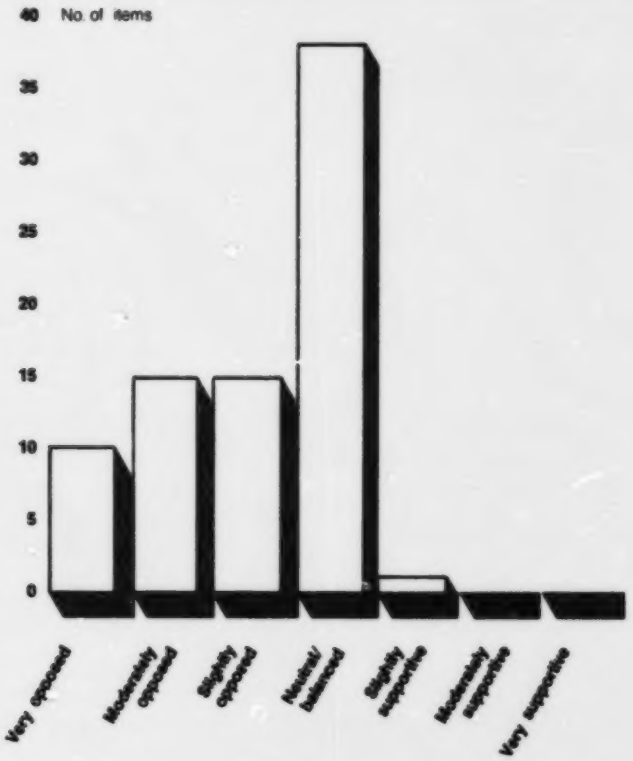
Based on our analysis of political positions and bias, we found that:

- About half the items analyzed were neutral, with the other half opposed to U.S. interests. Only one supported U.S. interests.
- Greater proportions of items on apartheid and Palestine opposed U.S. policies and/or interests than did those on disarmament and new world orders.
- The topical radio program had the highest proportion of items with unfavorable ratings.
- About 45 percent of the text which discussed the United States and topics important to U.S. interests was unfavorable, while only 11 percent was favorable; the rest was neutral.
- Soviet bloc and non-aligned country spokesmen, the U.N. General Assembly, U.N. conferences, and DPI were specific sources frequently unfavorable to the United States.

Half of Media Items Neutral; Half Opposed to U.S. Interests

The three evaluators gave identical overall ratings to 79 of the 90 items they analyzed. As shown in figure 3.1, 38 of these items were rated as neutral or balanced based on our analyses of political position and bias. One item—a television interview with the executive director of the U.N. Environment Program—slightly supported U.S. interests. The remaining 40 items opposed U.S. interests. No items were judged to be moderately or very supportive of U.S. interests.

Figure 3.1: Overall Ratings Given to 79 DPI Media Pieces



Appendix II gives the overall ratings for each item scored identically by the three evaluators and the individual ratings when the evaluators did not unanimously agree. It should be noted that, for the 11 items lacking unanimity, all the evaluators rated 7 opposed to U.S. interests but did not agree on the specific degree of opposition. The divergence of ratings for the other 4 items were between slightly opposed and neutral.

Apartheid and Palestine Materials Most Unfavorable

As shown in table 3.1, a greater proportion of items dealing with Palestine and apartheid opposed U.S. interests than did the other two topic areas. For those items given identical ratings, 9 of 11 items on Palestine and 17 of 26 items on apartheid opposed U.S. policies and/or interests. About one third of these unfavorable items were rated slightly opposed and about two thirds were rated moderately to very opposed. None of the apartheid or Palestine items supported U.S. interests.

Table 3.1: Ratings by Topic Area

	Opposed			Neutral/	Supportive			
	Very	Moderately	Slightly	Balanced	Slightly	Moderately	Very	Total
Apartheid	2	10	5	9	0	0	0	26
Disarmament	2	1	4	19	0	0	0	26
New world orders	2	2	3	8	1	0	0	16
Palestine	4	2	3	2	0	0	0	11
Total	**10**	**15**	**15**	**38**	**1**	**0**	**0**	**79**

Political issues related to apartheid which were frequently discussed in a manner contrary to U.S. policies included whether commercial and other ties with South Africa should be continued and whether violent means to overthrow the South African government could be justified. Discussions of alleged human rights abuses by Israel in the occupied territories were also frequently contrary to U.S. interests. These issues were discussed in a manner contrary to U.S. interests from 57 to 75 percent of the time.

Greater proportions of media pieces concerning disarmament and new world orders were presented neutrally; 19 of 26 disarmament items and 8 of 16 items on the new world orders were rated as neutral or balanced. One issue discussed in several disarmament items—the verification of arms control treaties—was presented in ways supporting U.S. interests about 60 percent of the time. Appendix V includes more information on how political positions were presented.

Radio Broadcasts More Opposed to U.S. Interests Than Were Other Media Types

As shown in table 3.2, Radio Perspective, the topical radio program, had the highest proportion of unfavorable ratings of all the media types we analyzed; 17 of the 25 programs, or 68 percent, opposed U.S. policies and/or interests and 11 of these programs were rated as moderately to very opposed. The raters found that none of the radio broadcasts supported U.S. interests.

Table 3.2: Ratings by Media Type

	Opposed			Neutral/	Supportive			
	Very	Moderately	Slightly	Balanced	Slightly	Moderately	Very	Total
Publications	5	4	1	17	0	0	0	27
Radio	4	7	6	8	0	0	0	25
Television	0	3	3	7	1	0	0	14
NGO briefings[a]	0	0	5	4	0	0	0	9
U.N. Chronicle	1	1	0	2	0	0	0	4
Total	**10**	**15**	**15**	**38**	**1**	**0**	**0**	**79**

[a]Nongovernmental organization.

Publications had a higher percent of neutral ratings (17 of 27 items, or 63 percent) than did the other media types. Ten of these neutral items were Disarmament Fact Sheets published by DPI but prepared by the U.N. Department for Disarmament Affairs. Although a high proportion of publications were neutral, 9 were rated moderately to very opposed to U.S. interests. The evaluators agreed that all publications dealing with the new world orders and Palestine opposed U.S. interests.

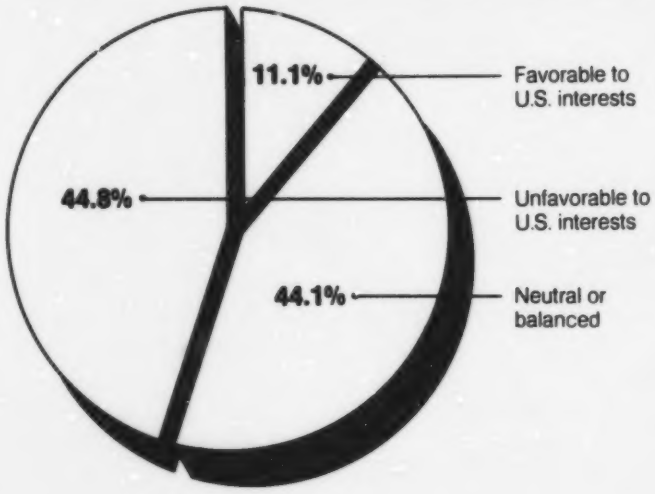
Much Larger Proportion of Text Opposes U.S. Policies Than Supports Them

Our paragraph by paragraph analysis of all text showed that 58.5 percent of an average media piece did not discuss the United States or topics important to U.S. interests as defined by the State Department; 18.3 percent was neutral, 18.6 percent was opposed, and 4.6 percent was supportive of U.S. interests. Some items, however, contained a higher concentration of unfavorable text than was average. For example, we identified 8 media items with 40 to 85 percent of the text rated as opposed to U.S. interests. These included one publication on the work of a special committee investigating Israeli human rights practices in the occupied territories and 7 Radio Perspective programs. One of the radio programs discussed the prospects for a world disarmament conference and featured speakers from Sri Lanka, Poland, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, and Bulgaria. Another radio program discussed the Law of the Sea Convention and featured speakers from Malta, Czechoslovakia, East Germany, and Trinidad and Tobago. The DPI narrator summarized Western positions rather than featuring speakers from Western countries in both of these programs.

Figure 3.2 represents only that portion of the material which discussed the United States or topics important to the United States as defined by the State Department criteria. For these discussions, about 45 percent

opposed U.S. interests while only 11 percent supported them. The remaining 44 percent of the material was neutral toward U.S. interests.

Figure 3.2: Material Related to U.S. Interests in an Average Media Piece



Appendixes VI, VII, and VIII contain more information on the amount of material found to be favorable, unfavorable and neutral toward U.S. interests in the materials overall and for each media type.

Specific Sources Identified as Unfavorable Toward the United States

Although all media items in our study were published by DPI, we examined each paragraph to identify the specific source directly responsible for the information or opinion it contained. In all we identified 77 specific sources. Table 3.3 lists the most prominent specific sources or source groupings. The list includes sources which appeared in at least 10 items and which frequently referred to the United States or to topics important to U.S. interests in a consistently favorable, unfavorable, or neutral manner.

Table 3.3: Major Sources of Content in DPI Media Items

Source	No. of items in which source appears
1. DPI	71
2. U.N. General Assembly resolutions	38
3. Non-aligned country delegates and representatives	34
4. U.S. delegates and representatives	21
5. U.N. conferences including programs of action and declarations	19
6. Soviet bloc delegates and representatives	17
7. Non-aligned country reporters	16
8. U.N. Department for Disarmament Affairs	13

Typically, whenever one of these sources appeared in a media piece in discussions about the United States and its policies, it accounted for 4 to 11 percent of the item's total text.

Soviet bloc delegates or representatives were by far the most unfavorable to U.S. interests; about 89 percent of that group's statements related to U.S. interests in a typical media piece opposed U.S. interests. Non-aligned country spokesmen and reporters opposed U.S. interests 59 percent and 34 percent of the time, respectively. About 54 percent of the text attributable to U.N. General Assembly resolutions and about 74 percent of the text attributable to programs of action and declarations from U.N. conferences opposed U.S. interests.

When DPI spokesmen discussed the United States or topics important to U.S. interests, their statements were neutral about 53 percent of the time, opposed to U.S. interests about 44 percent of the time, and supportive of them about 3 percent of the time.

Department for Disarmament Affairs materials were notably neutral, with 90 percent of its material rated as such. Statements of official U.S. delegates and representatives were favorable about 58 percent of the time and neutral the rest. This was the only source category whose statements were more favorable to U.S. interests than neutral or opposed.

Appendix IX includes more information on the 8 most frequently cited sources.

Indications of Bias in DPI Media

In view of the many indications we found that DPI materials opposed U.S. interests, we analyzed the data further to determine the extent to which this opposition was based on bias. We identified a small amount of text which contained biased language. Moreover, although DPI guidelines emphasize the need for balance in DPI media, we found that both sides of arguments on political issues were not presented in some media items and that presentations in some Radio Perspective programs were imbalanced.

Small Amount of Text Contained Biased Language

We examined every paragraph for the presence of biased language including (1) emotional language, (2) special emphasis, and (3) imbalanced comparisons referring to the United States and other nations. Terms like "racist," "imperialist," and "barbaric" were identified as emotional. Phrases such as "no one disputes that ..." and "it is a matter of life and death to the human race..." were identified as language emphasis. When biased language was identified, we judged whether the language biased the discussion for or against U.S. interests.

The raters disagreed on determinations of biased language more often than on other determinations. (See app. IV for reliability coefficients.) However, they unanimously agreed that 2.5 percent of the paragraphs contained biased language, with 94 percent of the biased language opposed to U.S. interests. This is our most conservative estimate of biased language since 2 of the 3 raters identified an additional 2.0 percent of the text biased against the United States and another 0.3 percent biased in favor of the United States. Appendix X includes more information on bias determinations.

Arguments Supporting U.S. Policies Given Little or No Coverage

Each evaluator scored each media piece according to how well major arguments on both sides of political issues were covered. Each excluded from the analysis media items that did not contain enough material related to U.S. interests (as defined by the State Department criteria) to make a meaningful determination. Two raters concluded that 70 of the 90 items should be scored and the third concluded that 71 should be scored.

As shown in table 3.4, a greater proportion of the materials provided better or much better coverage for arguments opposed to U.S. policy positions. The most items identified by any evaluator as covering arguments supporting U.S. positions better than those opposing them was three. It is not surprising that arguments opposing U.S. positions were

better covered in most cases, given that the United States has been in a minority on most issues. However, DPI's internal guidance on preparing media items emphasizes the need for balance. We found 11 cases (about 16 percent) where only one side of the issues was presented and no arguments favoring the U.S. position were given at all.

Table 3.4: Coverage Ratings Given to DPI Media Items

Coverage category	Range of items
1. Arguments opposing U.S. policies better or much better covered	37 to 46
2. Arguments supporting U.S. policies better or much better covered	0 to 3
3. Arguments presented in a balanced or neutral manner	24 to 30

Of the media types, items in the U.N. Chronicle and on the program Radio Perspective had the largest proportion of unfavorable coverage. Although only two U.N. Chronicle items were scored, both provided better coverage to arguments opposing U.S. interests. These two articles summarized materials from conferences on racism and Palestine in which the United States did not participate; therefore, one would not expect coverage of the U.S. position. However, the articles did not cover the positions taken by Western governments, some of which might be more favorable to U.S. policy positions.

For radio programs, where DPI has more opportunity to provide balanced coverage (see p. 29), at least 17 of the 24 radio programs scored provided better or much better coverage of arguments identified as unfavorable. Moreover, 4 programs provided no arguments at all supporting the U.S. position.

In contrast, a larger proportion of publications were scored as neutral or balanced in their arguments. This was due largely to the fact that the Disarmament Fact Sheets were predominantly neutral in their coverage. Television transcripts and nongovernmental briefing summaries generally had somewhat larger proportions of items rated as neutral or balanced.

Almost all apartheid items that were scored and 7 to 8 of the 10 Palestine items provided better coverage to positions opposing U.S. interests. Again, this may be a direct reflection of the minority position the United States takes on some of the related issues. In contrast, the favorable and unfavorable arguments for 14 to 15 of the 21 disarmament items were

judged to be equal. The raters disagreed as to how well the items on the new world orders were covered.

Concerns Over Radio Perspective

As previously mentioned, Radio Perspective had the highest proportion of unfavorable ratings, both at the media piece level and for coverage of the media types in our study. In addition, these programs typically contained the highest proportion of text rated as opposed to U.S. interests—25 percent compared to 14 to 16 percent for all other media types. Finally, 3 of 5 items containing relatively high levels of biased language (at least 15 percent) were Radio Perspective programs.

We also found several problems with how Radio Perspective programs were constructed.

- Statements by Western spokesmen selected by DPI were in some cases too short and/or vague to adequately explain their views or policies.
- DPI sometimes featured U.S. public figures opposing U.S. policies rather than featuring official U.S. delegates or spokesmen. Dissident spokesmen from the Soviet bloc were not featured in any of the items in our study.
- U.S. or Western explanations of policy were often given lesser prominence or sandwiched between large amounts of opposing discussion.
- In two cases, the speakers selected to illustrate political positions were exclusively from the Soviet bloc and non-aligned states.

We believe there are two reasons to be concerned about the radio broadcasts. First, according to a U.N. survey of users, Radio Perspective is the program most frequently adapted for use around the world. The potential impact of unfavorable material in these programs could be considerable, since local journalists and broadcasters use this material to inform their regular readers and listeners about issues before the United Nations.

Second, DPI would appear to have more control over the content of Radio Perspective than over the other media types we reviewed. For these programs, DPI presents selected cuts of statements by member state delegates and other experts on issues under discussion in principal U.N. bodies. A DPI narrator provides commentary on these statements and links the various cuts in a logical format. This format enables DPI to select which speakers and statements it wishes to highlight in presenting a specific topic.

In contrast, DPI exercises less control over the content of other media types. For example, DPI does not edit its television program, World Chronicle and, although it invites guest interviewees and reporters, does not claim responsibility for the guests' remarks. Similarly, DPI selects U.N. officials, heads of missions, and subject matter experts to brief nongovernmental organizations at U.N. Headquarters but has no control over what they say. For the four issues of U.N. Chronicle "Perspective" which we analyzed, DPI primarily reprinted materials from U.N. events and conferences, including studies, speeches, and reports. As previously mentioned, DPI publications are largely reprints or summaries of other U.N. bodies' work, with very little original writing by DPI.

Conclusions

We found many indications that the materials included in our analysis were unfavorable toward U.S. interests. Because our analysis considered political positions taken, these results reflect, in part, the minority position the United States has taken on some of the issues related to the topic areas included in our analysis. General Assembly mandates, many of which the United States has opposed, guide the direction of DPI public information activities. Nevertheless, our analysis revealed several indications that DPI products contain bias against the United States.

First, although internal DPI guidance notes that a cross-section of views should be presented in media items, we found 16 percent of the items scored for coverage to contain no coverage of arguments supporting U.S. political positions.

Second, because DPI can better control the content of its program Radio Perspective than other media types, we believe these productions should be balanced and objective. In fact, we found these items to be more unfavorable toward U.S. interests than the other types reviewed by almost every index we used.

Third, in presenting introductory material to publications, narrating and moderating radio and television programs, and summarizing materials, DPI spokesmen should be neutral. However, our analysis showed that when DPI spokesmen discussed the United States or topics important to U.S. interests, they took positions unfavorable toward the United States about 44 percent of the time while presenting a favorable side only 3 percent of the time.

Finally, although only a small proportion of the text in the items we analyzed contained biased language, this text opposed U.S. interests about 94 percent of the time.

In our opinion, these indications of bias point to the need for DPI to give increased attention to ensuring that its policy of balance and neutrality in public information materials is adequately implemented.

Agency Comments

The Department of State commented that our findings of material unfavorable to U.S. interests substantiated its own concerns regarding DPI materials. State emphasized the need for DPI to present an impartial and objective picture of U.N. activities since the worldwide dissemination of these materials is one of the most important sources of information about the United Nations. (See app. I.)

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Actions Taken to Encourage Objectivity in U.N. Public Information

Both the U.N. Under Secretary General for Public Information and U.S. officials have shown their concern for impartial presentation of U.N. public information.

The Under Secretary General has publicly stated the need for objectivity in public information and has issued guidelines to his staff to minimize undue staff influence on media content.

The U.S. mission has identified inaccuracies in U.N. materials in an ad hoc manner and has brought them to the attention of DPI officials. However, since no government agency systematically reviews U.N. materials, such inaccuracies, if they occur, cannot promptly be brought to the attention of the appropriate officials. The mission continues to work within the U.N. Committee on Information against the politicization of public information resolutions.

DPI Efforts to Achieve Neutrality

We do not have audit authority over international organizations which would enable us to examine DPI operations. However, we discussed our review with the U.N. Under Secretary General for public information, reviewed his public statements on DPI's role in U.N. public information activities, and examined staff directives to assess what efforts DPI is making to achieve neutrality in presenting public information on the United Nations. We found that the United States is adequately represented on DPI's staff.

Views of the Under Secretary General

The Under Secretary General said that he finds it very difficult to meet the increasing demands placed upon his department by the growing number of General Assembly mandates. The diverse views of member states makes it particularly difficult to satisfy all constituencies with the information his department produces. For example, he emphasized that DPI receives even more complaints from Soviet bloc states than from Western states regarding bias in DPI materials.

The Under Secretary General noted that the United States is in a minority position on many issues related to the topics in our study. He pointed out that DPI's policy is to adequately cover dissenting views in its materials even if the space or prominence given to them is disproportionately large compared to the debate afforded them in U.N. forums.

Guidance on Media Content and DPI Staff Composition

To minimize the possibility that DPI employees might unduly influence the content of DPI materials, the Under Secretary General has issued several directives to his staff emphasizing the need to remain objective in reporting on political issues before the United Nations. One directive dated June 1983 and entitled "Guidelines for the Production of Information Material" included the following guidance.

- Press releases must reflect the procedures of U.N. bodies with accuracy, balance, and speed.
- Publications should be based on U.N. documentation and be prepared in consultation with substantive departments to ensure accuracy.
- In reporting debates, care should be taken to include a representative cross-section of views to ensure balance.
- Bias should be avoided, not by omitting controversial views but by presenting them as opinions and by balancing them with opposing views.
- All statements not citing indisputable facts should be attributed.

The Under Secretary General pointed out that DPI employees are international civil servants who take an oath to serve the United Nations and should not be constrained by narrow national interests. We analyzed DPI's staffing pattern and found that the United States was adequately represented. According to a 1985 U.N. staffing report, the United States was to have 15.4 percent of the total professional positions subject to geographic distribution in the United Nations as a whole. As of June 1985, U.S. nationals held 41, or 25 percent, of DPI's 162 professional staff positions. DPI's four divisions were headed by nationals from Brazil, Canada, Guyana, and the Soviet Union. Although no U.S. nationals were in charge of the five large services directly under the four divisions, U.S. nationals headed three sections and four units beneath the service level. West European, Canadian, and U.S. nationals headed the DPI offices immediately responsible for producing the materials included in our content analysis.

U.S. Actions Related to DPI Public Information Activities

U.S. officials have been concerned for several years that some DPI materials may be unfavorable to the United States, and at least one limited analysis was made in 1983 to assess the situation. However, U.S. officials could not estimate the scope of the problem, since no government agency systematically reviews U.N. public information materials.

Officials at the U.S. mission occasionally request that DPI correct inaccuracies which they note in DPI media and are continuing their efforts to

gain support in the Committee on Information in opposing politicization of public information matters.

No U.S. Agency Systematically Reviews U.N. Public Information Materials

State Department officials told us that they have become increasingly concerned about the way topics of interest to the United States are treated in public information materials. Based on these concerns, mission officials conducted an informal assessment of DPI films and a cursory study of some DPI materials in 1983. Although the mission concluded that 5 of the 22 films viewed appeared to be adverse to U.S. interests, it made no formal recommendation to initiate a review process. Following this informal assessment, mission officials discussed the possibility of monitoring U.N. materials with the U.S. Information Agency; however, a process was not implemented.

Currently, U.N. materials are not systematically reviewed by the U.S. mission, the Department of State, or the U.S. Information Agency. Neither does the Voice of America monitor the content of U.N. radio programs broadcast from its facilities. Voice of America officials believe it would set a bad precedent to begin monitoring U.N. programs when other organizations also lease broadcast time from the agency. State and U.S. mission officials, on the other hand, thought that more systematic monitoring was desirable but pointed out that the large volume of materials which DPI produces and the limited personnel assigned to cover information matters were obstacles to such a review being made.

Responsibility for covering U.N. public information matters at the Department of State lies with the Office of Communications and U.N. Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization Affairs within the Bureau for International Organization Affairs. Officials told us that, due to the Office's small size, it has been unable to devote as much attention to DPI activities and media as it believes is warranted. They could not foresee when they would be able to more closely monitor DPI materials.

A single official at the U.S. mission serves as liaison with DPI on public information matters. He said that, due to the large volume of materials, he must rely on other officials within the mission to advise him of any inaccurate or biased materials within their areas of cognizance. When an inaccuracy is brought to his attention, he requests a correction from the appropriate DPI office. Since such instances occur only occasionally and are usually handled informally, he could provide few documented cases.

The press office within the mission provided us with three documented cases where they had brought inaccuracies to the attention of DPI. DPI issued corrections or revisions in all three cases. Mission officials advised us that DPI is usually apologetic for inaccuracies and issues corrections where warranted. One official pointed out, however, that once the inaccuracy is published the damage is done and corrections issued a few days later have little effect.

Officials at the mission also stated they persuaded DPI to remove a Palestinian exhibit soon after it was set up when the United States and Israel objected. The Under Secretary General said that the exhibit was removed because the organization responsible for it had not followed DPI procedures in getting the exhibit approved.

One mission official pointed to several difficulties in implementing improved oversight over U.N. materials. First, DPI would probably object to any U.S. request for prior review of draft DPI publications, since this might lead to the untenable situation of DPI's having to allow all member states the same opportunity. Second, DPI materials are simply too voluminous for mission officials to review, given their other responsibilities. This official suggested that, if a systematic review were to be made, State or the U.S. Information Agency would have to do it.

U.S. Concerns Over Information Mandates

Mission officials expressed concern that information mandates had inappropriately focused on political issues in recent years. As a result, they are continuing to work with allies on the U.N. Committee on Information to keep political issues out of public information mandates.

Both State and U.S. mission officials pointed out that DPI may merely be following the dictates of politicized mandates in publicizing certain issues and in publishing certain reports which the United States finds objectionable. Because of this politicization, the United States has opposed many public information resolutions passed by the General Assembly but has generally been in a minority position in doing so. Our review of 33 public information resolutions passed in 1984 showed that the United States voted against 15, including the primary resolution which contained the 59 recommendations of the Committee on Information. Only two of these resolutions received more than 10 "no" votes of the more than 140 votes cast.

U.S. officials believe the Committee on Information is an important forum for the United States to voice its concerns over information matters, since this Committee originates the primary mandate to DPI. However, officials expressed concern over the direction the Committee's work has taken in recent years. One official said that, although the Committee's recommendations are intended to be arrived at by consensus, non-aligned states on the committee have increasingly politicized information mandates to serve their own interests. Due to this politicization, the United States has voted against the resolution containing the Committee's recommendations each year since 1981. In fact, no member of the Western group—an unofficial U.N. grouping of States which includes the United States and traditional Western allies—voted for this primary public information resolution in 1985.

State Department officials explained that the United States is in a minority position on the Committee on Information. Of the 69 member states on the Committee, 14 are members of the Western group, 11 are Soviet bloc and satellite states, and 44 are non-aligned states. U.S. mission officials told us that the latter two categories of states often vote together on issues before the Committee. In contrast, the United States, notwithstanding the most recent vote, has not always been able to count on its Western allies to support it on public information matters. In 1984 only five Western states voted with the United States against the resolution which contained the Committee's recommendations.

In a statement before the U.N. Special Political Committee in December 1985, a U.S. representative outlined U.S. objections to the most recent omnibus public information resolution as follows.

- The resolution contained no reference to a new world information and communication order as an "evolving and continuous process," a phrase that Western nations feel is essential to demonstrate that a new order cannot be legislated into existence.
- An open-ended call for additional funds for DPI could lead to U.N. budget growth.
- A paragraph dealing with Palestine is inappropriate for an information resolution since it is a highly divisive political issue.
- Expressing strong support for the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization is inappropriate for the United States since it withdrew its membership from that organization in 1984 based on concerns that its activities had become politicized.

The U.S. representative also expressed concern that the Western group had been virtually excluded from genuine negotiations within the Committee and remained dissatisfied with its work. A U.S. mission official advised us that two European members of the Western group said that they would reevaluate their future participation in the Committee if the situation does not improve during the 1986 session.

Conclusions

Public statements and staff directives of the U.N. Under Secretary General for Public Information reflect his appreciation of the need for fair and objective information on the United Nations. While we support DPI's policy of balance and neutrality in producing public information materials, the results of our analysis show that this policy has not been accomplished in some materials.

Because public information resolutions guide the direction of DPI's activities, the efforts of U.S. officials to gain support in opposing politicization of information mandates is worthwhile and should be continued. However, our content analysis showed that U.S. officials should examine whether additional actions are needed to encourage fair treatment of political topics in U.N. public information materials.

The lack of a systematic review process for U.N. materials by any U.S. agency prevents U.S. officials from

- promptly bringing inaccuracies, if they occur, to the attention of appropriate U.N. officials for remedial action and
- assessing what actions they may need to take to encourage fair and objective public information on the United Nations.

The worldwide dissemination of U.N. materials amplifies the effect these materials may have on world understanding of events and issues before the United Nations. Accordingly, we believe such a review—at least for high volume, high visibility materials on topics of vital U.S. policy interest—is needed.

Recommendation

We recommend that the Secretary of State develop a review process to better monitor selected U.N. public information materials.

Agency Comments

The Department of State commented that it takes seriously our conclusion that no systematic review of DPI materials has thus far been undertaken. The Department pointed out the difficulty in designing an effective review,given DPI's vast production of materials. Nevertheless, the Department said that it and the U.S. mission have taken steps to strengthen their review of DPI materials and to ensure that effective action is taken when biased materials are identified. (See app. I.)

Comments From the Department of State

United States Department of State

Comptroller

Washington, D.C. 20520

:86

Dear Frank:

I am replying to your letter of March 20, 1986 to the Secretary which forwarded copies of the draft report: "U.N. Public Information: Contrary to U.S. Interests?"

The enclosed comments on this report were prepared in the Bureau of International Organization Affairs.

We appreciate having had the opportunity to review and comment on the draft report.

Sincerely,

Roger

Roger B. Feldman

Enclosure:
As stated.

Mr. Frank C. Conahan,
Director,
National Security and
International Affairs Division,
U.S. General Accounting Office,
Washington, D.C. 20548

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GAO DRAFT REPORT: "UN PUBLIC INFORMATION: CONTRARY TO U.S. INTERESTS?"

The Department commends the GAO's careful methodology and analysis which has produced convincing evidence of a pattern of reporting contrary to U.S. interests in a thematic selection of of DPI print and broadcast materials. This evidence substantiates concerns which the Department has expressed in a series of complaints to the DPI.

It is a serious matter that a selection of materials disseminated by the DPI, an international civil service pledged to present an impartial and objective picture of United Nations activities, is shown to contain a high incidence of anti- U.S. bias. This is particularly unfortunate because the worldwide dissemination of DPI materials is one of the most important sources of information about the United Nations.

This pattern could reduce the credibility of United Nations public information activities and raise questions about the utility of much of the work of the DPI.

The Department takes seriously the GAO's conclusion that no systematic review of DPI materials had been undertaken. In view of the DPI's vast production, it is no simple task to design an effective review to fill this gap. Nevertheless, the Department of State and the U.S. Mission to the United Nations have taken steps to strengthen their review of DPI materials and to ensure that effective action is taken when biased materials are identified.

Alan L. Keyes
Assistant Secretary
Bureau of International
Organization Affairs

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DPI Media Pieces Included in GAO Content Analysis

Case no.	Title, topic, or guest	Topic area	DPI no.	Date	Ratings[a]
Publications:					
1	Objective: Justice (Vol. XVI; No.2)	Apartheid	834	12/84	1
2	Objective: Justice (Vol. XVI; No.1)	Apartheid	812	6/84	4
3	Building the Consensus Against Racism	Apartheid	809	5/84	(2-3-2)
4	Declaration and Programme of Action to Combat Racism	Apartheid	773	6/83	(1-2-1)
5	Programme for the Decade for Action to Combat Racism	Apartheid	774	6/83	4
6	States Parties to...International Instruments...Combat Racial Discrimination	Apartheid	764	6/83	4
7	States' Obligations...International Convention/Elimination...Racial Discrimination	Apartheid	767	6/83	4
8	The Right to Self-Determination: A Study	Apartheid	768	6/83	2
9	Main Obstacles to the Full Eradication of Racism...Apartheid	Apartheid	770	6/83	2
10	Assisting Peoples and Movements Struggling Against Racism	Apartheid	771	6/83	1
11	Education and Research to Combat Racial Discrimination	Apartheid	775	6/83	4
12	Reporting Procedures...Implementation... U.N. Decisions...Racial Discrimination	Apartheid	777	6/83	4
13	Second World Conference to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination	Apartheid	757	5/83	4
14	The Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons	Disarmament	854	7/85	4
15	Unilateral Nuclear Disarmament Measures	Disarmament	851	6/85	4
16	The ENMOD Convention	Disarmament	843	4/85	4
17	Conventional Disarmament	Disarmament	835	2/85	4
18	A Comprehensive Nuclear Test Ban	Disarmament	830	1/85	4
19	World Disarmament Campaign	Disarmament	807	6/84	4
20	Disarmament Machinery	Disarmament	805	5/84	4
21	The Prevention of Nuclear War	Disarmament	802	4/84	3
22	Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons	Disarmament	799	2/84	4
23	The Sea-Bed Treaty	Disarmament	798	2/84	4
24	Reduction of Military Budgets	Disarmament	787	1/84	4
25	The Law of the Sea	New World Orders	762	1933	2
26	A Quiet Revolution	New World Orders	786	11/83	(2-3-2)
27	The Role of the Mass Media in Combating Racism	New World Orders	772	6/83	1
28	Special Committee/Investigate Israel Practices/Occupied Territories	Palestine	842	3/85	1
29	Geneva Declaration on Palestine/ Programme...Palestinian Rights	Palestine	803	4/84	1
30	Committee/Exercise of Inalienable Rights/Palestinian People	Palestine	745	2/83	2

Case no.	Title, topic, or guest	Topic area	DPI no.	Date	Ratings[a]
Radio Perspective:					
31	Sanctions against South Africa- Comprehensive or Selective	Apartheid	31	7/85	2
32	Sharpeville: A Turning Point in South African History	Apartheid	12	3/85	2
33	The Situation in South Africa: Security Council Condemns Recent Events	Apartheid	11	3/85	3
34	Expanding the Arms Embargo Against South Africa	Apartheid	51	12/84	4
35	South Africa's New Constitution... Prospects for Peace	Apartheid	45	11/84	2
36	South Africa's New Constitution: Continuing Concern	Apartheid	35	8/84	3
37	International Shipping and Oil Sales to South Africa	Apartheid	30	7/84	3
38	Education in South Africa: Eight Years After Soweto	Apartheid	24	6/84	4
39	Apartheid in International Law (Part 2)	Apartheid	12	3/84	2
40	Apartheid in International Law (Part 1)	Apartheid	11	3/84	2
41	Prospects for a World Disarmament Conference	Disarmament	19	5/85	1
42	Disarmament and Development	Disarmament	5	1/85	1
43	Disarmament: The Role of the Two Super-Powers	Disarmament	2	1/85	4
44	Problems in Convening a Conference on the Indian Ocean	Disarmament	34	8/84	4
45	Efforts Towards a Ban on Chemical Weapons	Disarmament	22	5/84	4
46	Law of the Sea: Preparations Continue for International Control	New World Orders	25	6/85	1
47	Status of Global Negotiations on International Economic Cooperation for Development	New World Orders	16	4/85	4
48	The United Nations and Transnational Corporations	New World Orders	8	2/85	(2-3-2)
49	Law of the Sea Convention: Some Lingering Problems	New World Orders	52	12/84	(2-3-2)
50	The World Fishery Resources	New World Orders	43	10/84	4
51	Strategies for Development	New World Orders	25	6/84	3
52	World Economic Situation	New World Orders	20	5/84	4
53	Transnational Corporations and International Economic Development	New World Orders	19	5/84	2
54	The International Debt Crisis (Part 2)	New World Orders	10	3/84	(3-4-3)
55	The International Debt Crisis (Part 1)	New World Orders	9	2/84	(3-4-3)
56	A Common Heritage of Mankind: The Law of the Sea Convention	New World Orders	1	1/84	3
57	International Peace Conference on Middle East: Obstacles/Prospects	Palestine	29	7/85	1
58	Situation in the Middle East: Lebanon's Complaint to Security Council	Palestine	10	3/85	2
59	U.N. Humanitarian Assistance to Palestinian Refugees	Palestine	47	11/84	3
TV World Chronicle:					
60	Guest: Executive Director, U.N. Centre on Transnational Corporations	Apartheid	196	5/85	(2-1-3)
61	Guest: Assistant Secretary-General, U.N. Centre Against Apartheid	Apartheid	189	3/85	2
62	Guest: Secretary-General of Second World Conference to Combat Racism	Apartheid	104	2/83	2
63	Guest: Under-Secretary-General for Disarmament Affairs	Disarmament	187	2/85	4
64	Guest: Chairman, U.N. Political and Security Committee	Disarmament	175	12/84	2

Case no.	Title, topic, or guest	Topic area	DPI no.	Date	Ratings[a]
65	Guest: Recipient, U.N. Environment Program Award	Disarmament	160	6/84	4
66	Guest: Under-Secretary-General for Public Information	New World Orders	199	6/85	4
67	Guest: Executive Director, U.N. Centre on Transnational Corporations	New World Orders	177	12/84	3
68	Guest: Secretary-General, U.N. Conference on Trade and Development	New World Orders	169	10/84	4
69	Guest: Minister of Finance, Economic Planning and Development, Zimbabwe	New World Orders	158	5/84	4
70	Guest: Secretary-General, Commonwealth Secretariat	New World Orders	157	5/84	(1-2-1)
71	Guest: Executive Director, U.N. Environment Programme	New World Orders	144	2/84	5
72	Guest: Director, New York Liaison Office, UNESCO	New World Orders	141	1/84	4
73	Guest: Commissioner General, U.N. Relief and Works Agency (UNRWA)	Palestine	170	11/84	4
74	Guest: Secretary General, Second World Conference to Combat Racism	Palestine	140	1/84	3
75	Guest: Commissioner General, U.N. Relief Agency (UNRWA)	Palestine	136	11/83	3
Briefing Summaries For Nongovernmental Organizations:					
76	Second World Conference to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination	Apartheid	8	4/84	3
77	Actions Against Apartheid...Mark the Anniversary of Sharpeville Day	Apartheid	11	4/84	3
78	Current Perspectives in Disarmament	Disarmament	20	5/85	4
79	Update on the U.N. World Disarmament Campaign	Disarmament	13	5/85	4
80	View to Disarmament: Conversion from Military to Civilian Production	Disarmament	30	2/85	3
81	Assumptions and Perceptions in Disarmament	Disarmament	26	11/84	4
82	Political Issues Before 39th General Assembly	Disarmament	23	10/84	3
83	Disarmament Developments in 38th Session of the General Assembly	Disarmament	2	1/84	3
84	The Role of the Non-aligned	New World Orders	29	2/85	(3-3-4)
85	The U.N. Financing System for Science and Technology for Development	New World Orders	25	10/83	(3-4-4)
86	The Work of the U.N. Relief and Works Agency for Palestinian Refugees	Palestine	6	2/85	4
U.N. Chronicle Perspective:					
87	Racism	Apartheid	9	10/83	2
88	Effects of Nuclear War: The Medical Viewpoint	Disarmament	5	5/84	4
89	Third Development Decade: The Slowdown	New World Orders	4	4/84	4
90	International Conference on Question of Palestine	Palestine	10	11/83	1

[a]Ratings with respect to U.S. interests were assigned as follows. Three evaluators unanimously agreed on the rating when one figure is shown. Figures in parentheses are the individual ratings given when the evaluators assigned different ratings. 1-Very opposed 2-Moderately opposed 3-Slightly opposed 4-Neutral/Balanced 5-Slightly supportive 6-Moderately supportive 7-Very supportive

Criteria Provided by the Department of State and Used in GAO Content Analysis of DPI Materials

The Department would consider contrary to U.S. policies and/or interests statements on the following topics which would:

Apartheid

1. State or infer that the U.S. policy of "constructive engagement" supports apartheid.

2. Criticize the United States for continuing its diplomatic, commercial, or cultural ties with South Africa.

3. Criticize the United States for refusing to support mandatory sanctions against South Africa under Chapter VII of the U.N. Charter.

4. Criticize the United States for refusing to support violent means to oppose the South African government.

5. Lend U.N. endorsement to violence and the overthrow of the South African government.

6. Criticize the United States for not adhering to the International Convention on Suppression of the Crime of Apartheid without recognizing U.S. objections to some of its provisions.

7. Distort U.S. and other Western nations' mediation efforts between South Africa and Namibian groups by portraying such efforts as supporting continued South African rule over Namibia.

8. Single out Israel for allegedly supporting apartheid through its diplomatic, commercial, and cultural ties with South Africa.

Disarmament

1. Uncritically endorse a nuclear test ban without noting U.S. reservations.

2. Uncritically condemn continued production of binary chemical weapons in the absence of an effective and verifiable chemical weapons ban.

3. Single out U.S. weapons development, such as the neutron bomb, for criticism.

4. Characterize the U.S. strategic defense initiative as a militarization of outer space and/or a major obstacle to disarmament progress.

5. Endorse Soviet positions on disarmament which call for signature of agreements without adequate provision for verification, (i.e., freeze nuclear arsenals, ban all nuclear testing, eliminate all chemical weapons, and prevent the arms race from spreading into outer space). This includes talk of U.S. deployments without reference to Soviet activities.

6. State or infer that the United States is violating the Salt II treaty by deploying its medium-range missiles in Europe and in other parts of the world from where they could reach Soviet territory.

7. Criticize the U.S. refusal to follow the Soviet pledge for unconditional "no first use of force" without mentioning (1) President Reagan's comment that this might be acceptable if it were limited to non-nuclear forces or (2) NATO's refusal to abandon the right to the first use of nuclear weapons as the best means to deter and defend against attack from the Soviet's superior conventional forces.

8. Fail to adequately reflect the U.S. view that it is useless as well as dangerous to enter into arms control and disarmament agreements that lack verification mechanisms.

9. Characterize the Geneva Talks in ways unfavorable to the United States, such as inferring that the U.S. used delaying tactics to continue its arms build-up.

10. Conclude that resources freed as a result of arms cuts by the major powers should be committed in advance for development.

11. Fail to adequately recognize Western objections to a World Disarmament Conference.

New World Orders

New International Economic Order

1. Criticize the workings of free and competitive markets.

2. Promote restrictions on the free flow of goods, services, and information by calling for arbitrary trade barriers, tariffs, and taxes.

3. Promote standards for equipment in international trade which discriminate against the United States.

4. Seek to guarantee other countries' unlimited access to sensitive high-technology hardware and software.

5. Promote international codes, such as one which would impose unreasonable standards for marketing pharmaceuticals.

6. Promote state-directed redistribution of resources from North to South.

7. Acquiesce to the position that large state-controlled international enterprises (such as those of the Soviet Union) should not be viewed by the Center on Transnational Corporations in the same manner as Western corporations. The effect is that only Western corporations are critically monitored by the Center.

New World Information and Communication Order

8. Advocate imposing on the media the obligation to undertake specific social tasks.

9. Advocate licensing journalists or establishing an international code of journalistic ethics.

10. Advocate a policy of government control over the content of media communications.

11. Criticize the practice of advertising.

12. Promote curbing the independence of transnational news agencies.

13. Propose to restrict the principle of the free flow of information.

14. Require the media to accept public participation in the management and operations of the private media under the rubric of the "right to communicate."

15. Advocate establishment of an international body to impose restrictions on the Western media.

16. Restrict the right of journalists to gather information from private as well as public sources of information.

17. Legitimize the concept of orbital sovereignty for developing countries.

18. Favor the concept of government media over the independent media.

19. State or infer that the Western media are distorting news and information without providing evidence.

20. Criticize the commercial basis of the media as inherently evil.

Law of the Sea

21. Lend U.N. endorsement to the view that non-signators to the Law of the Sea Convention are bound to refrain from deep seabed mining and that mining outside the Law of the Sea Convention is illegal.

22. Promote the Law of the Sea Convention as an example to be emulated in implementing the principle of the "Common Heritage of Mankind" in other areas.

23. Promote the utilization of one nation one vote decisionmaking in the executive organs of international organizations.

24. Endorse the utilization by international economic institutions of anti-competitive practices such as production controls and mandatory technology transfer.

25. Support the view that international public commercial enterprises must be created to ensure greater developing country participation in international commercial activities, and that such public enterprises should be granted preferential treatment which in effect discriminates against private enterprises.

Palestine Question

1. Challenge Israel's right to exist.

2. Support the Palestine Liberation Organization's refusal to recognize Israel as a sovereign state.

3. Criticize the U.S. policy of promoting direct talks between Israel and its neighbors.

4. Criticize the Camp David Accords or Egypt for having signed them.

5. Uncritically endorse Soviet participation in an international conference on the Middle East.

6. Support the Palestine Liberation Organization contention that that it is the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people.

7. Support the imposition of sanctions against Israel.

8. Equate or attempt to equate Zionism with racism.

9. Uncritically accept allegations of Israeli human rights abuses in the occupied territories.

10. Lend U.N. endorsement to acts of violence against civilian populations in the Middle East.

11. Endorse armed struggle as a way of achieving the rights of the Palestinian people.

Measuring the Extent of Agreement Among Raters

We calculated the degree of agreement among raters that was greater than chance (Krippendorff's alpha coefficient). For example, the agreement coefficient for paragraph ratings was .87. This figure indicates that the judges agreed in their scoring at a rate 87 percent greater than if they randomly assigned ratings to the text.

The coefficient for language bias was lower than any other scoring category—.53, or 53 percent greater than chance. Therefore, we decided to report the results for bias in terms of the percent of paragraphs unanimously identified by all three evaluators as containing language bias and the percent identified by two out of three evaluators. We obtained agreement for at least two out of three evaluators for all but one of 4,207 paragraphs analyzed. (See app. X.)

Based on the agreement coefficients we calculated, we are confident that other well-informed raters using our procedures would obtain similar results. For comparative purposes, table IV.1 also lists the percentage of agreements that occurred when adjustments for chance were not made—the simple agreement rate. Simple agreement rates are inappropriate for overall score and coverage because these ratings are based on scales rather than categories.

Table IV.1: Coefficients of Agreement

Topic area	Overall ratings	Paragraph ratings	Political position	Coverage of issues
Apartheid				
Alpha coefficient	.945	.921	.920	na[a]
% simple agreement		96.1	96.3	na
Disarmament				
Alpha coefficient	1.000	.855	.873	na
% simple agreement		91.2	93.3	na
New world orders				
Alpha coefficient	.911	.834	.845	na
% simple agreement		90.9	93.0	na
Palestine				
Alpha coefficient	1.000	.847	.880	na
% simple agreement		89.4	93.0	na
Overall reliability				
Alpha coefficient	.965	.869	.882	.811
% simple agreement		92.3	94.1	na

[a]Not applicable.

Paragraph Ratings on Selected Political Issues[a]

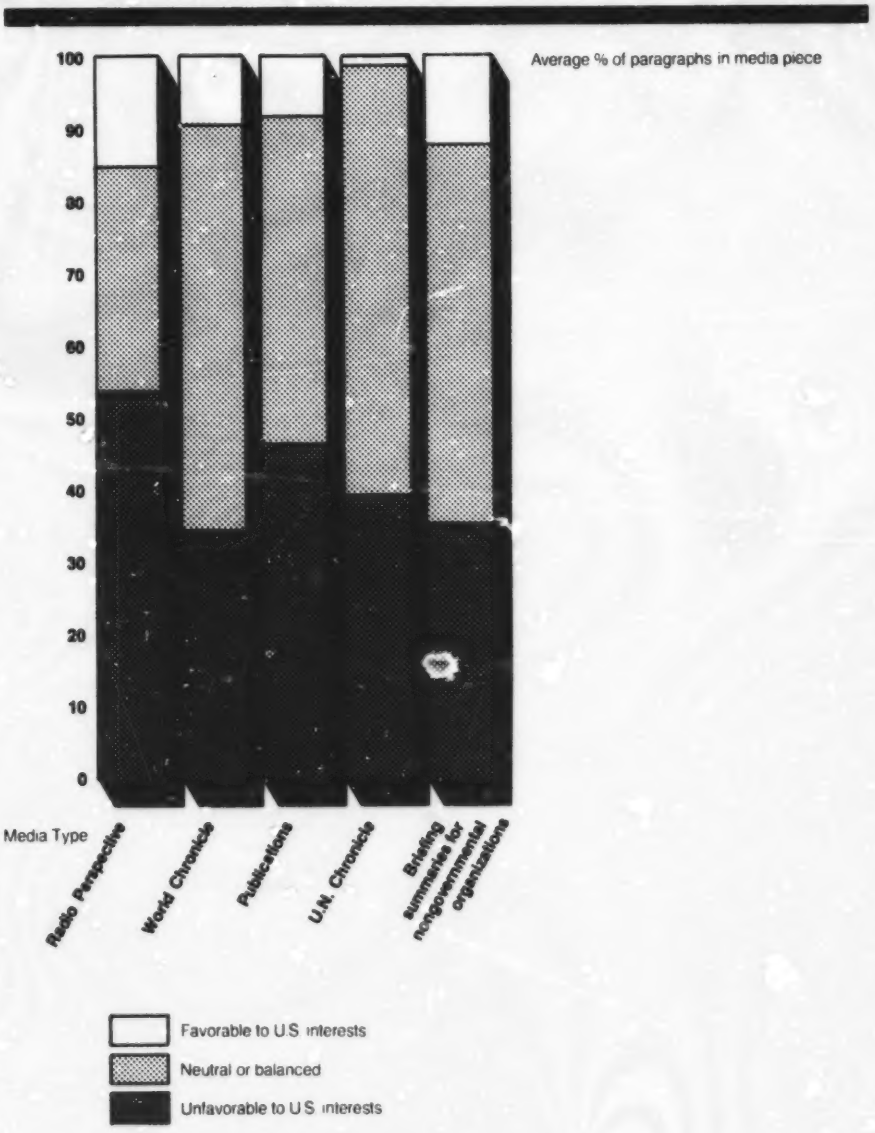
Issue	Average percent of paragraphs discussing issue based on ratings of three evaluators		
	Unfavorable to U.S.	Neutral to U.S.	Favorable to U.S.
1. Continue commercial ties with South Africa	75.0	20.0	5.0
2. Mandatory sanctions against South Africa	61.2	36.9	1.9
3. Violent overthrow of South African government	57.5	41.3	7.5
4. Mandatory criminal penalties for supporting apartheid	56.9	41.0	2.1
5. Obligating the media to promote desired social goals	70.7	29.3	0
6. Allegations of Israeli human rights abuses	65.4	25.6	9.0
7. Redistribution of wealth from rich to poor nations	50.3	46.6	3.1
8. Verification of arms control agreements	5.3	34.1	60.6

[a]The issues shown are those which were identified by the State Department criteria as important to U.S. interests and which occurred most frequently in the materials analyzed.

Paragraph Ratings for 90 Media Items

	Rating with respect to U.S. interests			
	No Reference	Unfavorable	Neutral/ Balanced	Favorable
Average percent of text in a media piece for three evaluators	58.5	18.6	18.3	4.6
Range among three evaluators for average percent of text in a media piece	57.9-59.0	17.4-19.3	17.9-19.0	4.4-4.9
Range for media pieces with lowest and highest percent of text in each rating category	0-100	0-85	0-81.8	0-41.7

Paragraph Ratings for 90 Media Items by Media Type

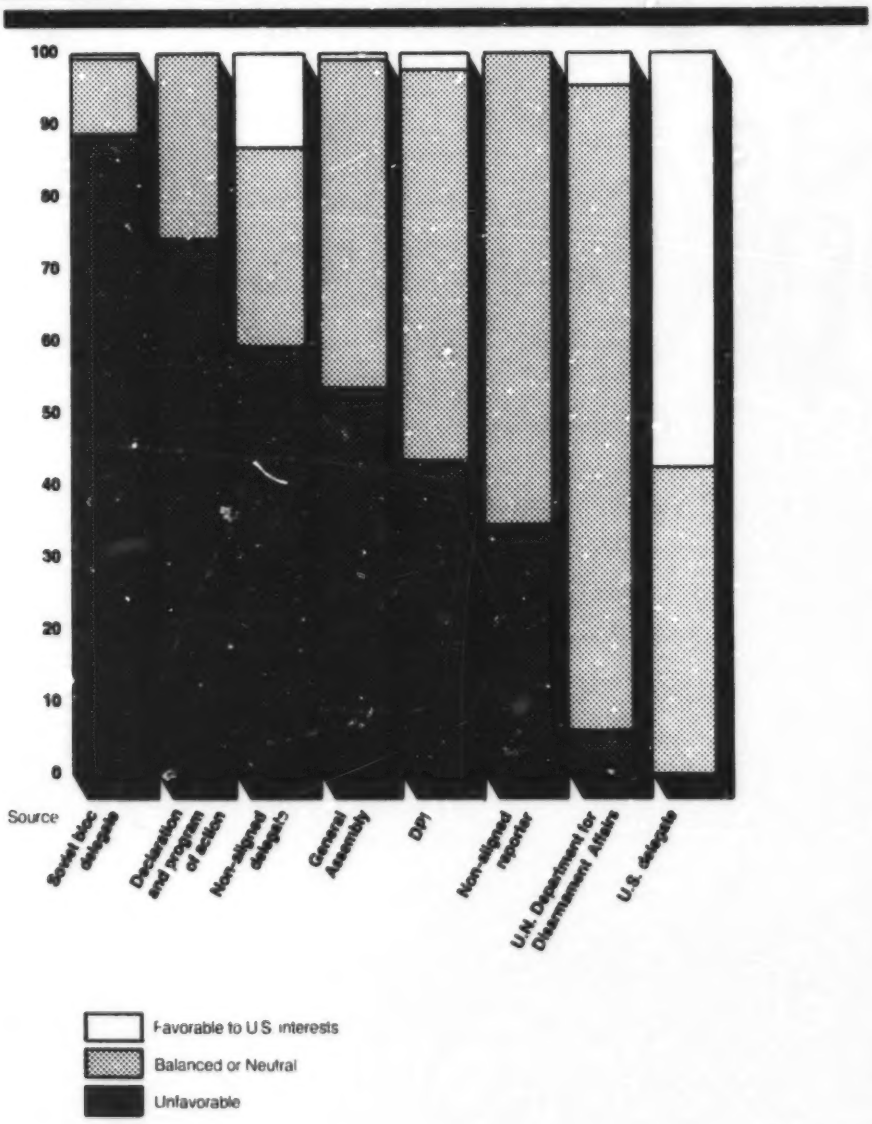


Ranges of Paragraph Ratings by Media Type for 90 Media Items

	Range among 3 raters for average percent of text in media item	Range for media items with lowest and highest percent of text in each rating category
Radio Perspective		
Unfavorable	24.7 to 26.7	0 to 85.0
Neutral/Balanced	14.8 to 16.3	0 to 81.8
Favorable	7.0 to 7.9	0 to 41.7
World Chronicle		
Unfavorable	14.4 to 17.8	0 to 47.8
Neutral/Balanced	25.4 to 27.2	5.7 to 50.0
Favorable	4.3 to 4.9	0 to 19.6
Publications		
Unfavorable	13.9 to 16.8	0 to 61.7
Neutral/Balanced	13.0 to 16.3	0 to 63.3
Favorable	2.5 to 3.0	0 to 24.8
U.N. Chronicle		
Unfavorable	12.8 to 14.9	0 to 37.0
Neutral/Balanced	20.4 to 27.7	3.1 to 67.6
Favorable	.2 to .3	0 to 1.2
Nongovernmental organization briefing summaries		
Unfavorable	13.2 to 14.7	0 to 31.6
Neutral/Balanced	19.0 to 21.5	0 to 47.4
Favorable	3.9 to 4.6	0 to 21.1

Paragraph Ratings for Major Sources in DPI Media Pieces

Average Percent of Paragraphs Related to U.S. Interests in an Average Media Piece[a]



[a]These sources typically account for 4 to 11 percent of a media item's text. The percentages cited are based only on paragraphs where the source discusses the United States or its policies. Unrelated material not included.

Percent of Language-Biased Paragraphs in DPI Media Items

Determination	Bias identified by 3 raters	Bias identified by 2 of 3 raters	Bias identified by at least 2 raters
No bias	89.8	5.4	95.2
Bias against the United States	2.3	2.0	4.3
Bias in favor of the United States	.2	.3	.5
	92.3	**7.7**	**100.0**

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